

Col. P. Force

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THE
AFRICAN REPOSITORY,
AND
COLONIAL JOURNAL.

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REFORMS.

The readers of our Journal for March 1837 will recollect a "*Constitution of General Government for the American Settlements on the Western coast of Africa*," which appeared in that number. It was the work of some of the ablest minds whose energies had been enlisted in behalf of African Colonization, and was designed to unite the several American Colonial Settlements in Africa, on the basis of the Federative principle. It was submitted to the Auxiliary Societies of New York and Pennsylvania, and to the Maryland State Society; accepted by the two first of those institutions, and rejected by the last. This rejection was construed to leave the whole question open, and nothing has since been effected towards bringing it to a decision, till a few weeks ago. On a suggestion made on behalf of the Auxiliary Societies of New York and Pennsylvania, delegates from the Parent Board met in the city of Philadelphia delegates from those institutions and the Maryland State Society. The Maryland delegation declined acceding to any plan of union, considering such a measure as inconsistent with the relation of their constituents to the State of Maryland. All that it was found practicable to agree on was that an "*Outline of a new Constitution for the American Colonization Society*," should be transmitted by the Parent Institution to its several Auxiliaries throughout the Union, with a request that they would send delegates to the annual meeting to be held on the 11th of December next.

This agreement has been complied with; and in the circular of the Parent Society to its Auxiliaries, their attention has been especially called to the importance of the subject which the Outline presents for consideration. It involves, indeed, nothing less than the vital interests of the great cause of African Colonization; for any innovation based on the principle of the Outline, is not a mere partial or temporary change. It is radical, and if made, will be, to all practical purposes, irrevocable. Destined therefore to operate great good or great evil, it demands at the hands of all Colonizationists, the most patient, dispassionate consideration, and the fullest interchange of opinions. Our own views of the subject have been repeatedly exhibited in this Journal, and we have only now to say that they remain unaltered.

It is earnestly to be wished that the several Auxiliary Societies will, as request -

ed by the Parent Board, send delegates to the approaching annual meeting, who will come prepared to remain in session as long as the interests of the cause may require, and to give it the full advantage of their aid and counsel.

The outline referred to is as follows :

Outline of a new Constitution for the American Colonization Society.

Art. 1. This Society shall be called "The American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States."

Art. 2. The object to which its attention is to be exclusively directed, is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their own consent) the Free People of Colour, residing in our country, in Africa or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient. And the Society shall act to effect this object, in co-operation with the General Government, or such of the States as may adopt regulations upon the subject.

Art. 3. This Society shall be composed of State Societies, organized for the purposes of Colonization and acting in conformity with this Constitution.

Art. 4. There shall be a Board of Directors composed of delegates from the several State Societies. Each Society contributing not less than one thousand dollars annually into the common treasury shall be entitled to one delegate; each Society having under its care a Colony shall be entitled to two delegates; and any two or more Societies uniting in the support of a Colony comprising at least three hundred souls, to two delegates each.

Art. 5. The Board of Directors shall meet annually at — and at such other times and places as they shall direct. They shall have power to organize and administer a General Government for the several Colonies in Liberia: to provide a uniform code of laws for such Colonies, and manage the general affairs of Colonization throughout the United States, except within the States which have planted Colonies. They shall also appoint annually an Executive Committee of —, with such officers as they may deem necessary, (who shall be ex-officio members of the Executive Committee) designate their salaries, and adopt such plans as they may deem expedient for the promotion of the Colonization cause.

Art. 6. Every State Colonization Society which has under its care a Colony, associated under the General Government, shall have the right to appropriate its own funds in the colonization and care of emigrants in their respective colonies; and shall enjoy all the proprietary rights, authorities, and jurisdiction not herein expressly excepted and committed to the hands of the Board of Directors.

Art. 7. The Board of Directors shall have the exclusive right to acquire territory in Africa, and to negotiate treaties with the Native African tribes, and to appropriate the territory and define the limits of new colonies.

Art. 8. This Constitution may be modified, or altered, upon a proposition to that effect by any State Society transmitted to each of the other associated Societies three months before the annual meeting of the Board of Directors: provided such proposition receive the sanction of two-thirds of the Board at their next annual meeting.

Art. 9. The representatives of the State Societies present at the annual meeting adopting this Constitution, shall have the power to elect delegates to serve in the Board of Directors until others are appointed by their Societies. The Delegates shall meet immediately after their election, organize, and enter upon their duties as a Board of Directors.

SLAVE TRADE.

Of all the recent practices connected with this detestable traffic, that referred to in the subjoined extract from the London Sun of 10th May, is, if the statement be true, the foulest blot on the name of a Christian nation. Inquiry is loudly demanded by the honor of, not only Spain, but our own country, which is to a certain extent, implicated in the charge:

We have been favored with a communication on the subject of that foulest of social abominations, the Slave Trade, which has startled us more than all the revelations hitherto made relative to this most inhuman trade. The substance of it may be given in a few words. It is, we believe, generally known that slavers when captured are brought to Cuba, where they are declared lawful prize, and their human cargo committed to the care of the Lieutenant Governor, whose duty it is to direct their conveyance back to their own country. The instant the slaves are landed they are placed in a hospital; slave-dealers are invited to examine them, to whom they are actually sold at the highest price, and smuggled on board vessels cruising for that purpose in the Mexican Gulf; and when a demand is subsequently made for them by our Consul, forged certificates of their death from yellow fever are produced, signed and countersigned by the Spanish authorities! This statement may seem improbable to many—yet we have evidence for it, of the truth of which we cannot permit ourselves to entertain the shadow of a doubt. We are assured that four-fifths of the slaves landed at Cuba are thus disposed of; and in this way is England made in some sort accessory to the providing a supply of slaves for the United States! Surely a question so important will not be suffered to escape unheeded the notice of Parliament. What we demand in the first place is searching inquiry into the truth of this statement; which if found correct, ought to be followed by the severest reprehension of the bad faith of the Spanish Government, whose promised anti-slavery co-operation has been purchased at a cost of about half a million sterling.

The following motion was proposed by Lord Brougham in the House of Lords relative to the Slave Trade, August 6th, and agreed to *nemine dissentiente*:

“That an humble address be presented to her Majesty, dutifully to submit to her Majesty that the slave trade, which the congress of Vienna most justly described as having degraded Europe, desolated Africa, and afflicted humanity, nevertheless still continues with great intensity;

that notwithstanding the various treaties and conventions which have been entered into by her Majesty and her royal predecessors, with different powers, for the suppression of this traffic, and notwithstanding all the endeavors of successive administrations at home, and of her Majesty's ministers and agents in foreign countries, and of her Majesty's naval force, employed in this service abroad, the trade has been aggravated in all its horrors; and that it is the opinion of this house, that a general concurrence of the great powers, professing Christianity, in a declaration, that the slave-trade, by whomsoever carried on, is piracy, and ought to be punished as such, is, under the blessing of God, one of the most probable means of effecting the abolition of that trade.

"That this house is further of opinion, that, in all treaties to be contracted between her Majesty, and her allies, the concession of a mutual right of search of their commercial vessels respectively, would be another of the means likely to attain that most important object, and that this house most respectfully implores her Majesty to represent these, their opinions, and wishes and hopes, in such a manner as to her Majesty shall seem most likely to be effectual to her Majesty's several allies.

"That this house cannot refrain from expressing to her Majesty the deep concern with which they have observed, from the papers which her Majesty has caused to be laid before them, that Portugal has not yet fulfilled the engagements which she has taken towards this country, by concluding with Great Britain an adequate treaty for the suppression of the slave trade."

[*From the Friend.*]

HAVANA—THE SLAVE TRADE.—Should the enclosed written at Havana during the last winter by a young member of the Society of Friends, be deemed worthy of an insertion in "*The Friend*," it is at the disposal of the editor: W.

Seventh Month, 11th, 1838.

HAVANA, 1838.

At a time when the all-engrossing subject of slavery within our own borders occupies so large a share of the public mind, it may not be inappropriate to relate a few facts drawn from personal observation during a short sojourn in the island of Cuba, and if possible to direct the attention of the philanthropist from the vexatious and delicate subject of an existing evil at home, to the more glaring and increasing traffic in human flesh, the source of so much misery, the African slave trade, which, it may not be generally known, to the disgrace of the civilized world, is at this very moment carrying on to an alarming extent, almost within sight of our own shores.

In the beautiful harbor of the Havana, the practised eye of the seaman detects at a glance, from amidst the large fleets of vessels from all quarters of the world, some half dozen or more splendid brigantines, which, for elegance and symmetry of model, breadth of beam, and lightness of rig, are unsurpassed by any vessels in the world,—sharp fore and aft, and lying low, they seem only to touch the water, and as if a zephyr would put them in motion. These beautiful vessels, which do credit

to the skill of the architect, and, as I was informed, were chiefly built at or near Baltimore, are slavers,—deceitful in appearance as the unruffled bosom of the ocean on which they glide,—their holds are the abodes of wretchedness, disease and death.

In the ports of this Island slavers are fitted out openly and without molestation, lying almost side by side with British, French, and American vessels of war; they dare not molest them unless taken on the high seas, and in the very act of carrying cargo. With the existence of slavery in these Islands, or in the southern states of our own confederacy, in making this communication, I have nothing to do; on the contrary, I can bear frequent testimony to the lenient treatment of slaves, and their apparent content on estates it was my fortune to visit. I have generally found it acknowledged an evil, but one for which it appeared difficult to devise a remedy; but that the American government should remain idle, when every year thousands upon thousands of the human family are carried into bondage, is most astonishing; while their brethren of England, with an example worthy of all praise, have for years been working, and are even now braving climate and disease almost alone, against the nefarious practice.

To the British navy alone be the honor of affording almost the only check to this inhuman traffic: their vessels are ever on the alert, both on the African coast and in the West Indian seas; and surely if any thing will open the eyes of the American people, to the magnitude with which this trade is carried on, the fact of four captures having been made within six months on the southern coast of this island, and the arrival in sight of this city, and within four days of each other, of two slavers with full cargoes of human beings ought to do it. During the latter part of December, the 'Eliza Bellita' slaver was captured by H. M. ship 'Sappho,' and carried into Port Royal, Jamaica, having on board 260 unfortunate Africans, scarcely one of them over fourteen years of age! In the harbour of St. Jago I saw a small clipper-built Guineaman, that I was informed had realized over two millions of dollars in the slave trade; she was very fleet, had been often pursued but never taken.

In company with an English naval officer, I made a visit across the bay to several of these vessels. We were permitted to walk over them, but no particular attention was paid to us; on the contrary, we were looked upon with suspicion, and received short and unsatisfactory answers to our questions; in general all attempts to enter into conversation with those on board appeared useless. With one, however, we were more successful; an old weather-beaten Spaniard was walking the deck—although an old pirate his expression of countenance was fine,—taking a seat under the awning on the quarter deck, offering him a bundle of cigaritas, and lighting one ourselves, by degrees induced him into conversation; and in course of one hour or more, I learned from him some horrid truths. He told us, that in four voyages he had brought, in the vessel upon which we then were, sixteen hundred human beings; his was a fortunate vessel, and seldom lost more than half a dozen a voyage; once, however, he told us he was not so lucky—a malignant disease broke out on board soon after leaving the coast, and of three hundred taken in Africa, but ninety-five were landed more dead than alive on the island!

The material, such as hand cuffs, chains, and even the lower decks are taken out, stowed in pieces as cargo, and are fitted up on the coast of Africa. We saw the apertures in the decks to admit the air, and as we were leaving the brig in our boat along side, the captain told us exultingly, that he knew we were officers of the British sloop of war, pointing to the "Champion," that was riding at anchor at a little distance from us; but, added he, "you are welcome; I yesterday showed your captain (meaning of the Champion) all over my trim vessel—I have nothing to conceal—you dare not touch me here, and once outside, (with an expressive shrug of the shoulders) you may catch me if you can."

About a league from the gates of Havana, situated delightfully upon a gentle eminence, shaded by groves of the palm and the cocoa, overlooking the Paseo Tacon, and the governor's Casadi Campo and gardens, is a tienda or receptacle for newly imported slaves; it is one of the many that abound on the island. In the cool of the evening we made a visit to this bazar. A newly imported cargo of two hundred and twenty human beings were here exposed for sale—they were crouched down upon their forms around a large room; during a visit of more than an hour that we were there, not a word was uttered by one of them. On entering the room, the eyes of all were turned upon us, as if to read in our countenances their fate; they were all nearly naked, being but slightly clad in a light check shirt, upon which was a mark upon the breast; with few exceptions they were but skin and bone, too weak to support their languid forms; they were reclining on the floor, their backs resting against the wall. When a purchaser came they were motioned to stand, which they obeyed, although with apparent pain; a few were old and gray, but the greater proportion were mere children of from ten to thirteen or fifteen years of age: when they stood, their legs looked as thin as reeds, and hardly capable of supporting the skeletons of their wasted forms. The keeper informed us they were of several distinct tribes, and that they did not understand one another; this was apparent from the formation of the head. While we were there, five little boys and girls were selected and bought to go into the interior; no regard is paid to relationship, and once separated they never meet again. We left the tienda, and turning through the gateway we saw some who were laying under the shade of the plantain, whose appearance told that they, at least, would soon be liberated from bondage by death—they were those who had suffered most during the voyage—their situation was most melancholy. I offered to one the untasted bowl of cocoa milk I was about drinking; she motioned it away with a look that even from a negress was expressive of thankfulness, and which seemed to say how unused she was to such kindness. We left this wretched abode, and in a few minutes were upon the Paseo, where all the beauty and fashion of the city were driving up and down in their volantes, as if all, far and near were happy. What a contrast!

Upon another occasion, as I was riding one evening alone, along the rocky and barren shore that extends for some miles to the eastward of Havana, covered with the cactus and prickly pear, I came suddenly upon a troop of slaves—men, women, and children. I drew up by the way side until they passed; three horsemen were driving them; they were

manacled, chained by the ankles, barefooted, and almost naked; they proceeded in silence, which was interrupted only by the rustling of their chains. Under the plea of lighting a cigar, I accosted one of the horsemen; he told me they had just landed in a small inlet on the coast, were one hundred and ninety in number, and were wending their way to one of the receptacles spoken of above. With feelings of pity for the lot of these poor wretches, I rode on for some time, when turning my horse to take a last view of the beauty of the evening sky, for the sun had sunk some time, I again saw the melancholy troop crossing the distant hills, their tall black forms strongly contrasted against the brightness of the western sky,—what were their feelings thus in a strange land and stranger language, unknowing of their fate, as they were under the shadow of night thus driven into eternal bondage?

An expression of opinion upon the subject of slavery in the Spanish islands is dangerous to a stranger; depending upon this traffic to cultivate and people the vast regions of rich and uncultivated land in the island of Cuba, and deriving as it does from the produce of this island its very existence, the Spanish government do all they can to prevent molestation of their subjects or the Portuguese in the slave trade,—and although an apparently attentive ear is given to the repeated and urgent remonstrances of the British government against this traffic, it is rather secretly fostered than frowned upon. While I was at Matanzas, a slaver from the gold coast arrived off the harbour of Havana at broad noon; and right under the guns of the Moro castle, hailed and stopped the "Almendares" steam packet as she was going in, contracted with the captain to land his cargo, which after running into the Havana and landing his passengers, he did; having come out, taken off all the slaves, put them on shore in an inlet on the coast about three miles from the harbour, and returned to the city before night.

In the nineteenth century, with the word liberty upon every tongue both in Europe and the western hemisphere, will it be believed, that the most profitable commerce is that of human flesh. Can there be no stop to the transportation from Africa of human beings? As an evidence of its extent, slaves can be had in Cuba for the small sum of \$300!—'tis true those that are acclimated and speak the language are worth more. When this is the case, it is in the power of every one to judge if the commerce is not a thriving one.

MISSIONARIES FOR WESTERN AFRICA.

MISSIONARY ROOMS OF THE A. B. C. F. M. }
Boston, July 24, 1838. }

To the Editor of the Charlestown Observer:

DEAR SIR:—Allow me through you, to address the young men of the South, on the subject of their duty to furnish Missionaries for Western Africa. I will not say that no missionaries born and nurtured

in the Northern States ought to go to Western Africa. But their probability of health and life is so much less than that of missionaries from the low countries of the South, and the latter have so much reason to anticipate a safe (though perhaps trying) passage through the process of acclimating, and years of usefulness afterwards, that the special call of Providence for Missionaries to that part of the African continent, is manifestly to them. Why then should Mr. Wilson, one of the most devoted and efficient missionaries from the South, call, year after year, in vain, for associates? During nearly four years only one Clerical brother has offered to go to his assistance, and he was from the North, and could not endure the violence of those constitutional changes which were necessary to inure him to the climate. Should Mr. Wilson be removed who would enter into his labors, and what would become of them? It is most painful to think of the possible consequences. As it is he is overburdened with care and toil, which must inevitably shorten his days, if none goes to his help. Without more missionaries, the mission cannot grow; it cannot be extended; it cannot accomplish its grand object. The plan is to form another post, eastward, at or near Cape Coast Castle, with reference to the Ashantee nation; expecting that Providence will enable us to reach the Niger, and the salubrious upland of the interior at no distant period. But no new station, near or remote, can be taken without more missionaries. Our very footing, in that part of Africa, is now precarious; our hold upon it distressingly uncertain.

Is there no candidate for the Ministry—no young Minister in all the South, who will offer himself for this service? Shall the devoted Wilson be left to toil alone, to call for help in vain, and to die, with none to prosecute his labors, and carry out his plans? Surely the love of Christ in the Christian is stronger than the love of life. Surely it cannot be the fear of death, which deters the followers of Jesus from engaging in this service. If not, what is it? Both Mr. and Mrs. Wilson live. They were sick at the commencement of their life in Africa; they suffered; but they both live; and they live amid one of the most promising fields for missionary labor which the heathen world affords, and are contented and happy in their work. They have no wish to leave it and return. And why should all regard death as certain, where they live, and fear to go where they rejoice to be? The land is not one of gloom and sadness. The sun shines as brightly there and the landscape is as smiling as here; and man is the same, and the gospel is as suited to his wants, and, through divine grace, will confer upon him a salvation as blessed and glorious. The whole region too, is found to be exceedingly populous.

What shall deter new missionaries from going there? Shall parents? Shall the love of home? Shall wealth, or the love of ease, or of health? Shall aught, indeed, except the clear, imperative will of God?

I would most respectfully, but earnestly, commend this subject to the prayerful consideration of the Ministers of Christ, and the candidates for the Ministry, in the South. Let prayer be made by the church of God, that his servants may be inclined to give it due consideration, and that he would be pleased to raise up and send forth laborers into the less salubrious, but at the same time, most populous regions of the heathen world.

ONE OF THE SECRETARIES.

REVIEW OF THE WHITE MAN'S LETTER FROM LIBERIA.

To the Editor of the Middletown Sentinel.

MR. EDITOR—At the close of a Colonization Meeting held in the City of New York some time in June last, a number of papers were scattered among the assembly, purporting to contain copies of certain letters from a white man then in Liberia. One of these papers fell into my possession, and notwithstanding I then felt as a lover of truth, it became me to make some effort at least, to check the evil tendency of their contents, yet the fact that these letters were anonymous, induced me to abandon the idea of spending either time or thought on such an irresponsible production. Circumstances which have occurred since, however, have led me to think otherwise. I was called upon yesterday, by the Rev. Dr. Skinner, recently from Liberia, and now an authorized Agent of the A. Col. Society, with the fifth number of a paper published in Hartford, Conn., called the Charter Oak, in which the above letters have been published, as copied from the Emancipator, of New York. In conversing with the Doctor on the subject, it was natural to conclude that this said white man's letters would go the usual round of all the papers hostile to the Colonization cause, and if no attempt at a refutation of their malicious slander be made, an innocent and unoffending people might suffer greatly under their blasting influence. On whom devolved this refutation was the next question. Whether it was better to leave them in the hands of the friends of Colonization in America, or put them in those of some other 'white man,' who had been also in Liberia, and had been furnished with opportunities for judging of their claims to credibility. The latter was the course considered most judicious, and at the urgent request of the gentleman named above, I have not without some reluctance however, undertaken to review this "white man's" letters. Let me premise, sir, that this reluctance arises not from any fear as to the success of exposing this evil speaker to the contempt of all who are not of his craft, but from a uniform aversion to my leaving my more immediate and proper work, that of a Missionary to the Heathen, and engaging in the political quarrels of the day. To be silent in this case would be sin. To suffer this false witness against my neighbor to pass unheeded, and that too when my neighbor is four thousand miles from the spot where he is calumniated, and therefore cannot defend himself, would be little short of being a partaker in the crime; so that in justice to myself, I must disclaim all fellowship, all agreement or concord with such a "white man," his being *'one of the most scientific and intelligent white men that ever went to Liberia—extensively known as an active and devoted Colonizationist—and a man of unquestionable integrity—and of most respectable connections in this country'*—all this notwithstanding.

My first inquiry in prosecuting the following investigation will be, who can this white man be?—this individual, who had *'been led to Africa through his zeal for the Colonization cause, to which he had been devoted for years,'* who writes under the dates of Aug. 24, 1837, and May 12, 1838, who *'is still in that country, concerning which, he tells THE TRUTH.'* He is not to be found in the list of Missionaries

laboring in Liberia at the time of the dates of those letters, for I hesitate not to challenge the world to produce any such sentiments from the pen of Wilson, Savage, Minor, Payne, Crocker, Mylne, Clarke or Barton. He is not among the White Governors or Lieutenant Governors, for such truth savors not of Skinner, Matthias, Finley, or Johnson. So that we are not furnished by the publishers of his letters with data from which to give him either a local habitation or name; we must judge of the man by his productions, as we would the tree by its fruit. Let us examine them. He says "*you have yet to learn, that the prejudices of color work backwards here, among those who suffered under them in America. You may have felt disgust, or contempt, or pity, for the degraded negroes around you in America; but here is hatred the most malignant, fear and envy constantly resting against the white race and straight hair of the Caucasian race. And it is only the influence of the second feeling, which occasionally restrains the outbreaks of the first and third. Among the natives, indeed, those feelings have no existence.*

" That the 'white man's' correspondent had yet to learn what does not, nor ever existed, is by no means surprising, for in the most unqualified terms, I assert that there is no such prejudice in Liberia. If the most marked politeness and courtesy—if an undeviating readiness to befriend—if an untiring fidelity in times of sickness, affliction, bereavement—if expressions of heartfelt sympathy in *deed* as well as word—if all these are evidences of "prejudice," and the "most malignant hatred, fear, and envy," then do the citizens of Liberia envy and fear and hate the white man. But if among all savage, civilized and Christian communities, we take such attentions and kindnesses as marks of good feeling and friendship, then are the citizens of Liberia friends to the white man. It is nearly four years since I first landed in that country, and more than three years since my family joined me there. During this period, as is well known, my house was frequently one of affliction, of mourning, or death. I suffered in my own person from long and lingering disease. I have seen those who were dear to me, sicken and fade and die. In all this, I did not know the want of kind, attentive, christian friends, to bind up my aching head, or watch around the bed of my dying friends, and too without fee or reward.—Nay, such is the confidence which the people of Liberia have caused me to place in them, that I left a wife and three little children among them for five months, during a visit to America, and my absence was only the signal for redoubled attention and kindness on the part of the citizens to my family. That they do not and will not "cringe, fawn and flatter," because we are of "fairer skins," and have "straight hair," I admit, and why? simply because they are in Liberia, the land of the free colored man, and *there* they have no more reason to fear our frowns, or eschew our smiles, or care about our contempt—not so much as we have theirs.

I will admit too that as freemen, knowing and appreciating their rights and privileges, they demand from the hands of those white men who visit their country or reside among them, a reciprocity of respect and courtesy. Hence, when a white man goes among them and thinks his

"science or intelligence," or "his devotedness to the Colonization Society," or his "unquestionable integrity," or because of his "fair skin, or straight hair," or because of "his respectable connections in this country," he is thereby authorized to thrash about him like a maniac, to compliment them at every step with the terms 'black rascal,' and 'mulatto scoundrel,' to threaten ministers of the gospel with shooting rifle balls through their churches and houses, if their religious meetings are protracted so late at night as to disturb his slumbers—to treat with fisty-cuffs respectable men for fancied insults, to ridicule all law, order, and discipline among them, and boldly to question whether they have either right or capacity to enact laws, organize courts, or inflict punishments—in such case, I ask, is it a matter of surprise if such men are treated with neglect and contempt? But when did such things ever happen in Liberia, may be inquired? Did ever a white man act thus there? I answer, yes! these are facts. And I question very much whether the author of the white man's letters is not well acquainted with the individual who practised all these feats; and much more among the people of Liberia.

But to proceed. He adds: "*Distress, anguish, and want, form common scenes here, the most deplorable and hopeless, because the suffering is all due to the viciousness and laziness of the sufferers. While your folks have been falling from opulence to poverty, ours have been falling from one depth of suffering and scoundrelism to another.*"

This is not *all* true, though it may come from one of 'reputed unquestionable integrity.' Distress, anguish, and want may be felt by some, by many in Liberia; but it is not true that the suffering is all due to viciousness and laziness of the sufferers. Much of it is due to unforeseen calamities. Families emigrate—death enters their dwellings, and throws widows and fatherless children, without the means to meet a long series of subsequent affliction from disease, on the charities of their benevolent fellow citizens. What has vice to do with this? Nor is it any more due to laziness. Liberia is a new country. There are no large factories, no great internal improvements going on, affording occupation and bread to the laboring class. What are poor widows and orphans to do?—enfeebled by disease, and pennyless as they are. If such as cannot procure honest employment, resort to some public asylum in the Colony, for a maintenance—if some live on private charity—why distress, anguish, and want are said to be common, and it is ascribed to laziness.—Why are there so many poor-houses in every state and county in the U. States, and why are they so well filled? Is it *all* due to the vice and laziness of their inmates? If so, why is it remarkable in Liberia? and if not, if other causes have produced some of the suffering *here*, why may they not *there*?

It is *not* true that the "folks in Liberia are falling from one depth of poverty and scoundrelism to another." It is not true of any one settlement in Liberia. Bassa Cove and Cape Palmas are decidedly making rapid advancement in respectability and wealth. This is equally true of Millsburgh and Caldwell. And in Monrovia where in '36 the prospects appeared gloomy, there is a most pleasing change for the bet-

ter. Men who had devoted their time and little capital to mercantile pursuits and had neglected the rich fertile soil around them, are discovering their error, have turned to farming, and the cultivated banks of the St. Paul's are witnesses that instead of scoundrelism and laziness increasing, industry and honest effort are multiplying on every side. Take the testimony of a respectable and pious anti-colonizationist, who spent three months of this year in Liberia, and visited several of the settlements.*—He was constrained by *his love of truth* to say and permit to be published as his opinion, that the 'time is not far distant when our ships will be seen returning to the United States freighted with the productions of those Colonies.' But to go on. The white man '*heartily accords with his correspondent in the decisive condemnation of Colonization, not only as concerns the relief and improvement of the colonists themselves, but also in its influence on the condition of the natives of the country. In its practical operation it has thus far been a renewal of the worst scenes of conquest, oppression, and extermination, presented in the history of the dealings of white men with the aborigines of the Southern States.*' These are high swelling words, but touch them, and like the bubble on the water, they prove to be emptiness and vanity. If Colonization is to be condemned because of its failure in the relief and improvement of the colonists themselves, who is the proper judge as to the amount of relief and improvement in question? The man who "*entertains all possible contempt for the idea that the colored man stands on the same platform of natural equality with us,*" exclaims, "*let them (the colored race) have a freeman's liberty of going where they think they can do best, but every where over them as a peculiarly degraded, vicious, malignant race, let the rod of Justice be a rod of iron.*" Is this man to be judge? or shall we appeal to the parties themselves who are the subjects of this relief and improvement? Ask them and they will say in ninety-nine cases out of the hundred, 'I would rather suffer and die in Liberia, than live in America.' But where are the scenes of conquest, oppression, and extermination talked of? The lands claimed by the Colonization Societies and appropriated to the emigrants, were purchased and paid for. If subsequently, difficulties, quarrels and war ensued, and these have rarely occurred, there is not an instance known, but the natives of the country have been the first aggressors, urged by a love of plunder so legitimately connected with their savage and barbarous state. And instead of being exterminated by reason of the emigration of the American colored people, save in a case or two, where a defensive war on the part of the latter ended in the destruction of a few natives, they are improved in a temporal, moral, and religious point of view by the establishment of the colonies in Liberia. I appeal to every Gospel Minister who has ever gone to Liberia as a missionary. To every white man who has gone out as an agent for the respective Colonization Societies—to every physician,—teacher,—to every master of the several American, English, French,

*Captain W. Waters, of Salem, Mass.

Danish, and Dutch vessels that trade to those Colonies—and to the naval commanders and officers whose testimonies are before the public.

But I reject the testimony of *him* who ‘entertains all possible contempt for the idea that the colored man stands on the same platform of natural equality with us,’ and who would have ‘the rod of Justice a rod of iron over them.’ As to the proposition of the Abolition scheme being ‘wild, speculative folly,’ I attempt not to inquire; with this I have nought to do. The white man concludes by affirming ‘that Colonization has failed to fulfill its proper mission,’ and therefore ‘its further existence is not needed.’

This leads to an inquiry as to the nature of its proper mission. In prosecuting this inquiry we shall see how far it has failed. Did Colonization propose to effect the freedom and emigration to Africa of the whole colored population of the U. States in three, five, or even twenty years? Did it promise that all who emigrated to Liberia, should surely live and not die, the deleterious character of the climate notwithstanding? Did it pledge itself that every man and woman emigrating, would certainly be industrious, moral, virtuous, and become wealthy—that there should be in the colonies no disease, no death, nor poverty, nor vice? If so, then Colonization has failed. But if the object held out from the beginning was to help such free persons of color to do so, who chose of their own free will and accord to prefer Africa to America for their future homes—to protect and foster them while there—to open facilities for their intellectual and moral improvement, and for them to spread civilization and religious light over that dark country—then Colonization has thus far fulfilled its proper mission. To the people of Liberia I appeal. I ask whether in raising them from menial offices among the whites in America, from bondage and wretchedness, to become free citizens of prospering colonies in Africa, Colonization has failed in that which it proposed? Thus much for a brief review of the white man’s letters.

But with himself I have not yet done. He is said to be extensively known as ‘an active and devoted colonizationist,’ and was led to Africa ‘through his zeal for the colonization cause, to which he had been devoted for years.’ Here is a grand mistake somewhere, to say the least of it. Did he go out in the employ of the Society, to which he had been devoted for years, and yet entertaining the views expressed in these letters? If so, he is not a colonizationist in sentiment. No genuine colonizationist ‘entertains all possible contempt for the idea that the black man should stand on the same platform of mutual equality with the whites.’ Did he conceal what were his private views of colonization, while seeking an office in her employ, and going out under her banner, believing all the while that her protegees were ‘a peculiarly degraded, vicious, malignant race,’ and that ‘over them the rod of Justice should be a rod of iron?’ If so, what becomes of the unquestionable integrity of this white man? It rather comes to us in a most questionable shape. But perhaps his views were changed on becoming acquainted, on the spot, with the people of Liberia, and the failure of the colonization scheme; then let his ‘unquestionable integrity’ come out and

show itself in openly and candidly renouncing all connection with that Society, and giving the public his reasons for being converted from a colonizationist—i. e. a friend to the colored race, to one denouncing them as malignant, degraded and vicious, and deserving every where to be ruled with a rod of iron. I conclude by remarking, that as these letters are given as '*colonization testimony*' and '*for what they are worth*,' that in the first place it appears extremely doubtful whether the writer was ever a colonizationist in principle; that secondly his integrity is rather questionable, in aspersing and slandering a community whose general industry, morality, kind feeling to the white race, and decidedly beneficial influence on the natives of Africa, so many white men of *proved* integrity have borne testimony to, and lastly, that '*as to its worth*'—such testimony as his is just worth *all possible contempt*.

I am yours, respectfully,

JOHN SEYS.

Middletown, Aug. 31, 1838.

N. B. Editors of papers who are friendly to the people of Liberia, and the Emancipator and Charter Oak, will oblige the writer by publishing the above.

AFRICAN SKETCHES—BY DR. McDOWELL.

No. 3.

Colonial Settlements.—Cape Messurado, the site of Monrovia, the first settlement fairly established by the American Colonization Society, has always been an important point of the West coast of Africa, in the estimation of all vessels visiting that coast. It makes a better land fall than Cape Mount, to the north, or any other headland to the south of it, being more easily recognized, and has always afforded supplies of wood, water, and provisions to shipping. The description given of it by the Chevalier de Marchais, in the account of his voyages to Guinea in 1725, '26, '27, is tolerably correct. He gives rather a more flattering description of the natives there, than truth would warrant at the present day; although the influence of the slave-trade may sufficiently account for their subsequent determination of character and habits. It is remarkable that he should have chosen the same spot for a French settlement, and has given a minute plan of the proposed colony, for the purposes of buying slaves and produce.

Cape Messurado is a high, bold, rocky, headland in the latitude of $6^{\circ} 29'$ N. and in longitude $10^{\circ} 50'$ W., covered, when not inhabited, with a dense forest growth almost impenetrable from vines and brushwood. Its highest elevated point nearly overhangs the sea, and is about 150 feet above its level. Monrovia occupies a platform about 80 feet lower, gradually lessening as it extends towards the mainland. This elevated peninsula forms the S. W. bank of a large basin of water,

formed by the junction of Messurado river, and a branch from the St. Paul's river called the Stockton creek. On its inland side is placed the greater part of the town. It was occupied by a few colored emigrants from the United States, under the care of Mr. J. Ashmun, the devoted agent of the American Colonization Society, in the year 1822.

An account of the exertions and sufferings of this little band of pilgrims to Africa and their successful defeat of the combined savage host that would have exterminated them, and so graphically and touchingly described by Mr. Ashmun himself, that for minute details, I would beg leave to refer to his memoir of the events of that interesting period, and to the life of that extraordinary man, by his biographer, the Rev. R. R. Gurley. From that period until 1824, little improvement was made in the town—either in the number and architecture of the houses, or in the extent of ground cleared, the interval being chiefly employed in reconciling the colonists to their new home, and in organizing the efficient system of Government, which being effected, prosperity and contentment speedily followed.

The whole population of Monrovia, including native residents, may be safely stated at 1200. A considerable number of its early settlers have gone for the benefit of agriculture, to the other settlements. All the houses are frame, many with stone basements; 10 or 12 large two story stone dwelling-houses, and as many very large warehouses, with stone wharves on the river, afford good evidences of industry. The stone is well adapted for building, being a sort of close grained granite, and a heavy, red, vesicular sandstone, of which the Cape is composed. The colonial schooners are built by the colonists themselves, and are very good specimens of naval architecture. They trade in palm oil, camwood, and ivory, along the coast, more particularly to Cape Mount and Grand Bassa.

There are four large churches, at present, in Monrovia, three of which are stone, and afford flattering evidence of the architectural taste of the colonists who erected them. Two very excellent stone school houses are nearly finished, one built by the Methodist Mission, the other by the Ladies' Liberian Education Society, in Richmond.

The town itself covers three square miles. The streets are laid off at right angles, and are wide, the principal one, Broadway, being 100 feet. Each block consists of four lots, each a quarter of an acre. Most of the gardens in Monrovia are abundantly supplied with fruit trees; the oranges and lemons are very fine and large, the latter unusually so. The cocoa flourishes, and bears abundantly. The pomegranate, the cashew, the fig, and grape vine, may be seen, but not in any abundance. Indeed, the gardens and farms of the colonists are yet as experiments, showing rather, what can be done, than the test of the resources of the soil and country. Yet I am sure that any colonizationist, who has given his time, his talents, or money, to advance the cause, who could be able to look on the many neat white-painted houses, with Venetian blinds, surrounded by white fence, and placed, each, so comfortably in the deep green shades of those trees, like a bird's nest in a lump of foliage, to the inmates of which, he has secured all the dignity and privileges of freemen, would consider himself more than repaid.

A court house and jail are building of stone. The library once contained some thousands of books, but from the scarcity of general readers, they have become scattered and neglected; the building, as well as books, being nearly consumed by bugabugs and other real *bookworms*. In fact, it was a supply not needed, a feast for which they had as yet no relish. Many people consider themselves sufficiently charitable in sending out as many old religious books as they have no use for, when he who gives a dollar to assist in supporting schools and teachers, does more than the mere donor of one hundred books. A Moral Friendship Society, for the suppression of vice, and encouragement of virtue, has existed for some years. They have also a Union Sisters' Charity Society, for purposes of benevolence, and a Temperance Society of 500 members.

There are two forts in Monrovia; one in the centre of the town, of a triangular form, with square towers at the angles, built by Dr. Randall. Its only use, at present, is as an arsenal. The other is placed on the summit of the Cape. It completely commands the town and roadstead. They are pretty well supplied with cannon, but are much in want of carriages, wood decaying soon in that climate. Cast metal carriages would be the most suitable. A flag staff and signal house are also stationed there to give notice of vessels in the offing.

The commerce of Monrovia has diminished considerably there of late years. The colonists became involved in heavy debts to American and English merchants, from rash and careless crediting. A spirit of trading was encouraged that gave the colony a great apparent prosperity, which was suddenly checked by the internal wars stopping the influx of native produce. This has, however, proved to them that agricultural success can be the only measure of colonial prosperity. The duties arising from imports at present, are about \$1,500.

The currency of the colony is a mixture of goods, camwood, ivory, palm oil, Spanish dollars, and Sierra Leon cut money. They have, at present bills in circulation, issued on the faith of the Colonial Government, which answer very well.

New Georgia.—This settlement of recaptured Africans sent out by the United States, is four miles from Monrovia, on the Stockton creek. The town is about half a mile square, and is inhabited by two tribes, the Eboes and Congoes. The tribes are divided from each other by a main street. It exhibits more general industry and neatness than any other settlement. They take pains to keep their streets smooth and clean. Their lots and farms are well cultivated, the former being fenced with wild plum, or the croton oil nut. They seem contented and happy, attend church regularly, and are anxious to have their children educated. Magistrates and constables are annually appointed from among themselves, the dignity of which offices they prize much, and execute the duties faithfully, as far as they are able. During elections of general officers, they may be seen attending the polls with all the bustle and activity of warm politicians. There are two schools in this settlement; one under the care of the Methodist Episcopal Mission, the other is supported by the Ladies' Liberian Society, in Philadelphia. The population was 300 by the last census.

Caldwell.—This settlement is very pleasantly situated on the south bank of the St. Paul's river, which is here about a mile in width. The town extends four miles along the banks, and one on the Stockton creek. The inhabitants are chiefly engaged in farming. Large quantities of potatoes, arrow root, cassada, plantains, and Indian corn, are raised.—A superintendent of the settlement, magistrates, and constables are appointed by the Governor. It has two churches and two schools, supported by the same as those in New Georgia. Two large receptacles for their emigrants are erected there by the Society. The lots are laid off similar to those of Monrovia. The farms are placed around the outskirts of the town. The most of emigrants who settled Caldwell were poor from the first, and have not therefore done very great things in farming; but the comfort and independence of the inhabitants are in the exact proportion to their agricultural industry. There are many respectable men, there, who surrounded with abundance, have often declared themselves to me entirely satisfied with their new home. Caldwell numbers 600 inhabitants.

Millsburg.—Is 12 miles higher up the St. Paul's river than Caldwell. It is very pleasantly situated, and in the dry season is a very delightful residence. It is more decidedly agricultural than any of the other settlements. Many of its inhabitants have a large number of the young coffee trees and the sugar cane growing abundantly—of potatoes, cassada, plantains, Indian corn, and indeed of all the vegetable necessities of life, there is no want, nor ever need be. In times of scarcity among the natives, they have applied to Millsburg for supplies. The soil is a rich clay loam, and has always been considered the best in the colony. In this settlement the emigrants occupy at once their farms, which run back from the river in strips of ten acres by one. This is, undoubtedly the best place for the promotion and encouragement of agriculture, but liable to this objection in infant settlements—that the houses being necessarily separated to a considerable distance from each other, the inhabitants are less easily concentrated in case of attacks from the natives. The population is about 500.

Marshall.—The last settlement formed by the American Colonization Society, is situated at Junk river, near its entrance into the sea.—It is composed of recaptured Africans from the United States, with some other emigrants. The chief employment of these people when I saw them, was making lime, from oyster shells, farming to some extent, and trading with the natives. One of the branches of the Junk, called the Red Junk, runs up a long distance into the country, by which a profitable trade might be established, while it offers good locations for missionary stations.

Edina.—This settlement was formed about six years ago, during Elliott Cresson's visit to Scotland as agent of the American Colonization Society, and is named after Edinburgh, in honor of the liberality of its citizens, and the country generally, to the Colonization cause. It is one of the most pleasant and promising settlements established by the Society. It is situated on a point of land forming the northwest bank of a large and beautiful expanse of water, arising from the confluence of three rivers which meet here just before the mingling of the stream into the ocean; the main branch of which is the St. John's river. Its popu-

lation numbers somewhat more than three hundred persons, and sixty houses. It has two churches, and is the principal station of the Baptist Missionaries. It has two schools, one for the colonists supported by the Ladies' Society in Philadelphia, and a school for native boys chiefly, under the care of the Baptist Missionaries. It has considerable trade in camwood and ivory; and three or four American and English vessels visit it annually. A Ladies' Liberian Education Society was organized in Edinburgh to support schools in it for the benefit of natives and colonists; but their benevolent intentions were frustrated by the opposition of the Abolition party, who industriously spread mistrust among its members, and the welfare of Africa and the colony was sacrificed to party spirit on the authority of exparte statements.

I have lived two years in this settlement, and gladly bear testimony to the general industry, contentment, and morality, of its inhabitants.—They are all anxious to have their children well educated.

This settlement is now united with Bassa Cove, under the supervision of the New York City and Pennsylvania Colonization Societies.

Bassa Cove.—This settlement occupies the side of the river, opposite to Edina, about a mile distant. It was formed by the New York and Pennsylvania Colonization Societies, and consists of the emigrants who escaped from the massacre of Port Cresson, (as the settlement was then called) the location of which was two miles further southward than the present town of Bassa Cove. Four expeditions of emigrants have been sent there since those Societies first commenced their operations, which was in December, 1834. Bassa Cove has been re-established since December, 1835, and numbers now more than 200 emigrants, exclusive of native residents. The people are industrious, more given to agriculture than in the other settlements. The sale of ardent spirits is prevented by law. There are two very fine churches built, Methodist and Baptist. A school is taught at the expense of the Ladies' Liberian Education Society, of New York. A Lyceum was established by Mr. Buchanan, for the mutual improvement of the young men of the village, and it has done considerale good. Each church has a Sunday school, with forty children in all, and fifteen natives. An excellent jail and court house have been erected, and a wind saw mill is in process of erection. It is, on the whole, one of the most promising settlements in Liberia.

A new settlement named Bexley has lately been surveyed and commenced by Lewis Sheridan. This soil is very fine and fit for any tropical produce. It is named, at the request of the British African Colonization Society, after their President, Lord Bexley. They subcribed \$500 towards its formation. It is situated about six miles up the St. John's river, and will make a beautiful residence for the industrious emigrant.

Sinou.—A settlement has lately been formed by the Colonization Societies of Mississippi and Louisiana. The location is said to be very good. It is about half way between Cape Palmas and Monrovia.

Cape Palmas.—This very prominent headland, on the west coast of Africa, has been selected by the Maryland Colonization Society for their operations. A settlement has been established there a little more than four years. It numbers 450 colonists, and extends about four miles inland. The sale of ardent spirits is forbidden by law, and all trading is

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confined to the public store alone. The Presbyterian Mission, under Mr. and Mrs. Wilson, has been established there some years, and the great good which has resulted from the persevering and devoted labors of Mr. and Mrs. Wilson, is highly spoken of by all who visited that colony, as well as the natives themselves, with whom I have conversed on the subject. Mr. Wilson has two schools under his care, with three colored assistants, one at Rocktown and one at Cavally, besides that more immediately at his own residence. Two churches are built, and exercises are performed regularly at Mount Vaughan, the residence of the Protestant Episcopal Missionary. There are two other schools in the town for the colonists, and another school-house is building at the expense of the Ladies' Liberian Education Society of Baltimore, for a very competent colored preacher and his wife, who went out lately. A very fine road has been made for nine miles inland, and is intended to be carried to Deh-neh, the Episcopal Mission station, in the interior about sixty miles. A very excellent law has lately been passed by Mr. Russwurm, the agent there, that eighteen months after the passing of the act, no officer should hold a commission who could not read and write; the consequence of which is, that those now in office, not possessed of the necessary qualifications, are studying hard to acquire them—also, scarcely a less important regulation, providing exemplary punishment for any one convicted of whipping his wife. Examples which the other colonies would do well to follow. There are, also, three military companies, well equipped and drilled. Indeed this may be said of all the settlements, more particularly Monrovia, for all the military arrangements of the colony are well and efficiently conducted.

R. McD.

PLAN OF COLONIZATION.

The subjoined resolution offered by RUFUS KING, was originally published in this Journal [See African Repository, Vol. 1, p. 249,] at the request of a Southern Correspondent. The opinions of it which follow, expressed by Chief Justice Marshall, and Mr. Madison, are contained in their answers written in December, 1831, to letters addressed to them by the Secretary of the American Colonization Society. [See Proceedings of Am. Col. Soc., at the 15th annual meeting, p. v. and Afr. Rep., Vol. 12., p. 89, 90.]

It will strike the reflecting reader as a singular coincidence, and a persuasive argument in favor of Mr. King's plan, that two such minds as those of MARSHALL and MADISON should without concert, be turned to the same resource for colonizing colored people.

IN SENATE.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 18th, 1825.

Mr. KING, of New York, rose, and said, in offering the resolution, he was about to submit, though it was a subject of great national importance, he did not desire to debate it, nor did he offer it with a view to

present consideration. He submitted it as a matter for the future consideration of the Senate, and hoped it would be received by all parts of the House, as one entitled to its serious attention. He then laid on the table the following resolution:

Resolved by the Senate of the United States of America, That, as the portion of the existing funded debt of the United States, for the payment of which the public land of the United States is pledged, shall have been paid off, then and thenceforth, the whole of the public land of the United States, with the nett proceeds of all future sales thereof, shall constitute and form a fund, which is hereby appropriated, and the faith of the United States is hereby pledged, that the said fund shall be inviolably applied to aid the emancipation of such slaves, within any of the United States, and to aid the removal of such slaves, and the removal of such free persons of color, in any of the said States, as by the laws of the States respectively may be allowed to be emancipated, or removed, to any territory or country without the limits of the United States of America.

The resolution was read, and on motion of Mr. BENTON, ordered to be printed.

On this subject I have always thought, and still think, that the proposition made by Mr. KING, in the Senate, is the most unexceptionable, and the most effective that can be devised. The fund would probably operate as rapidly as would be desirable, when we take into view the other resources which might come in aid of it, and its application would be perhaps less exposed to those constitutional objections which are made in the South, than the application of money drawn from the Treasury, and raised by taxes. The lands are the property of the U. States, and have heretofore been disposed of by the Government under the idea of absolute ownership.

CHIEF JUSTICE MARSHALL.

In contemplating the pecuniary resources needed for the removal of such a number, to so great a distance, my thoughts and hopes have been long turned to the rich fund presented in the Western lands of the nation, which will soon entirely cease to be under a pledge for another object. The great one in question is truly of a national character, and it is known that distinguished patriots not dwelling in slaveholding states, have viewed the object in that light, and would be willing to let the national domain be a resource in effecting it.

Should it be remarked that the States, though all may be interested in relieving our country from the colored population, they are not equally so, it is but fair to recollect that the sections most to be benefitted, are those whose cessions created the fund to be disposed of.

I am aware of the constitutional obstacle which has presented itself; but if the general will be reconciled to an application of the territorial fund to the removal of the colored population, a grant to Congress of the necessary authority, would be carried with little delay through the forms of the Constitution.

EX-PRESIDENT JAMES MADISON.

COLONIZATION.

The subjoined extracts are from a series of interesting political essays, originally published in the Philadelphia National Laborer, and, it is somewhat remarkable, copied into the Washington (D. C.) Chronicle:

At the opening of our last No. (VI.) we precised FOUR OBJECTS which our South had henceforth to keep in view: two of which she shared in common with our North, and two of which were peculiar to herself.

The two peculiar to herself we stated to be:

The preparing her servile race for Colonization and self-government in a tropical climate; from whence they were, in the origin, forcibly brought under British authority and thrown upon the reluctant population of these then Colonies. And the enabling that servile race, during the course of that preparation, to pay its full debt for the same to its masters and guardians.

It should be entirely unnecessary at this period of time, to collect facts or present arguments in support of the imperious necessity of preparing for the removal of the slave race from our Southern States, or of the moral propriety of preparing them for self-government before removing them to their native Africa, or to other countries and climates suitable to their color and organization; or again, of the justice of rendering this preparation of the slave, and (we may add) of a now everywhere helpless, and therefore degraded race, of rendering the preparation, we say, for liberty, industry, and progressive improvement, conducive not only to their own good, but to that of their masters and guardians.

We believe the number of individuals of *sound mind*, whether appertaining to our North or our South, who will be disposed, *seriously* and *honestly* to demur to these positions *to be infinitely small*. And we shall venture to subjoin, that we do not regard as of sound mind such *Abolitionists* as may deny the absolute right, *in fact* and *in reason*, of the sovereign people of our Southern States to lay down the terms, (so that they may be fair) and to prescribe the mode, (so that it be humane,) in which the negro may aspire to *improvement* and *so to advantageous Colonization*, and *effective* emancipation. Neither do we regard as of sound mind, such *anti-Abolitionists* as may take their stand upon a *status quo*—absolutely impossible in this age, and yet more, in these United States; and moreover, altogether *non-existent*, no less in human history than in all nature itself.

Thus, throwing, as it ought to be thrown, the question of Abolition to the winds, (taking always the word Abolition in the sense applied to it by the partisans of Arthur Tappan and Angelina E. Grimke) the question we present is one of *industrial training and general improvement prior to removal, for the negro: and of remuneration and deliverance for the planter.*

With a view to attaining these objects, the first step which our Southern Demos has to take, is to substitute his collective for his individual authority; to merge his domestic in his political sovereignty, and thus, at one and the same time, to entrench his own power, his own passions, and his own interests, within the sacred and impassable barrier of just and rigid law, and to raise his African dependant from the benumbing position of *slave to an individual*, to the elevating position of *servant and ward of a State*.

This first step being distinguished, (we shall explain it more fully;) the next is to consult the regulating principle of the nation, justice in its relative character, so as to attain the desired objects with due regard to existing circumstances, and to all existing interests, whether of the individual planter, or of our planting States.

[From the Southern Literary Messenger, for September.]

"The only hope for the African slave is in his removal from the house of bondage to the land of his forefathers. The unqualified advocates of slavery and the Abolitionists occupy the two extremes of this much vexed question. But the scheme of Colonization is the *juste milieu*.—This is the broad platform upon which the friends of this unhappy race may meet in soberness and safety. The morals and misery of the free negroes in the northern States, the perpetual and bloody conflicts between them and the white man in New York, New England, and Philadelphia, show that to them freedom carries no healing on its wings, and liberty, that blesses all, has no blessing for them" * * * *

"Redeemed from slavery by the mild influence of the laws, by the generosity of their owners, or by the persuasive force of a wholesome public opinion, and translated to the shores of Africa, these men will be as superior to the native races, as the whites are to them. And the prejudice of color being thus removed, the natives may be civilized and enlightened through their agency. They can there blend their intermarriage, without the aid of Mr. Tappan. They may plant the cross amid the sterile sands of the desert, and be the heralds of salvation to a benighted people. We feel little inclination to offend the moral reader by any attempt to expose the ridiculous and revolting scheme of amalgamation; let its projectors be classed with those fanatical advocates of temperance, who would substitute buttermilk for wine in the Lord's supper.—It is by Colonization alone that the descendants of Ham can be redeemed. There are at present but few spots on the African continent settled for this purpose, and their growth is feeble and sickly, as were the colonies of Jamestown and Plymouth on our own shores. But the little fountains that now well up in the desert may multiply and blend, and roll on until they sweep onward, not unlike their own Nile, in one resistless and fertilizing stream. How long was it before the early colonists of America toiled up the summit of the Alleghany, and from another Pisgah looked down from the land of promise? Yet as they descended, in little more than one generation of the children of men, empires have arisen and cities have peopled the wilderness."

COLONIZATION MEETINGS IN BUCKS COUNTY, PA.—On Sunday evening, the 29th July, a public meeting was held at the Free Church, in Newtown. The house was full to overflowing, and many were obliged to remain outside, about the doors and windows.

Mr. Buchanan was present by invitation, and addressed the meeting. After which the Rev. Greenbury Ridgely made an animated and feeling appeal in behalf of Africa, and her oppressed children in this country, and urged in strong terms, the necessity of immediate and active exertions in favor of the Colonization Society.

On Monday evening, Mr. Buchanan accompanied by Mr. Cresson, attended a meeting of the Yardleyville Colonization Society, where a very deep interest was manifested in behalf of the good cause. More than one hundred dollars is already subscribed by the members of that Society, and confident expectations are expressed of increasing this sum to one hundred and fifty or two hundred dollars.

At Bristol, on Tuesday evening, a large meeting of the citizens was convened at the school-house. Mr. Buchanan gave a brief exposition of the principles and designs of the Colonization Society, and dwelt at some length on the condition and prospects of the Colony—its influence on the character of the emigrants and the natives of Africa, &c. At the close of the address, an invitation was given to the audience to propose any objections which might be entertained, or to make inquiries on any point not sufficiently explained. Questions were accordingly asked by two gentlemen, in relation to the health of the colonists—the character of those emigrants from this country—and the influence of the Colony on the slave trade. Answers being received by these inquirers, it was resolved, *unanimously*, that a Colonization Society be organized: and a committee of five were appointed to draft a resolution and procure subscriptions.

The meeting was then adjourned to meet at the same place, on Tuesday, the 6th August.

While in Bucks County, Mr. Buchanan received invitation from several other towns, to attend public meetings, which his official engagements compelled him to decline. In a short time, however, he will be able to renew his visit, and co-operate in a thorough organization of the County, which our friends seem determined to accomplish without delay.—*Col. Herald.*

[*From the New Orleans Observer.*]

COLONIZATION.—From numerous meetings in relation to this subject in Washington City, in Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, in Delaware, and indeed in almost all parts of the country, and from all the advices from Africa, the prospects of this truly Christian and philanthropic enterprise are most cheering. The situation and probable future condition of the colonies are perhaps more favorable than like colonies have ever been in a time so short, and means so limited. The moral state and prospect of them all are delightfully pleasing to every mind that has viewed them unjaundiced by misrepresentation and prejudice; the effect upon the trade and happiness of this country cannot be otherwise than beneficial, for no conceivable evil can grow out of them, while very many advantages will certainly result from the opening a new channel of extensive and profitable commerce.

But regarded as a missionary enterprise, intended to diffuse the blessings of civilization, law, and liberty, and more than all, the bland light of salvation in Christ Jesus over the dark and savage minds of millions—the subject puts on a grandeur and importance not to be estimated by the power of human computation; because upon its every successful effort is written the gospel's object, salvation—eternal salvation in Jesus Christ. Even now, says Dr. Blodgett, in our last number, “is Africa

beginning to stretch forth her hands unto God." Already have the natives been attempting to establish and sustain schools of their own, and only failed because adequate teachers are not to be obtained among them. Already have numbers of the heathen natives given up their barbarism, and united with the Churches of Christ. Already have the hopes and blessings of the gospel been communicated to many who lately sat in the shades of the thick darkness that has for ages brooded over the wretched natives of this degraded country.

Never, faithful history being witness, were foreign colonies planted and rendered more permanent with rapidity and success, than those planted by the American Colonization Society, and the State Societies which cluster around her like so many daughters around a venerated mother whose character they revere, and whose acts they sedulously imitate, and endeavor to exceed in beneficence. In no part of the world have colonies been successfully formed with less expense of money, or with as little suffering as these. And never, we are confident, were colonies planted from which greater blessings to our race perceptibly arose, than may safely be expected from the colonies now planting and extending in Africa.

It is true that the cause of colonization meets with opposition, and in some instances with bitter and vehement opposition. The most considerable and most deadly opposition, however, comes from Garrison and his coadjutors in Abolition. But is this a cause for abandoning it, or even slackening our zeal in it? What great enterprize of philanthropy was ever executed without opposition? Not one. And opposition in this as in many other cases, coming from the source it does, is one strong evidence that it is a righteous cause, and will succeed. It is of God, and its enemies cannot overthrow it.

On the evening of the 28th ult., Dr. E. Skinner, late Governor of the Colony of Liberia, delivered an address, before a full and attentive audience, in the South Baptist Church in this city. He began by remarking on the obligation he felt, as if under the solemnity of an oath, to "speak the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth," in relation to the points on which he might touch. And so evidently honest and candid was his manner, that we believe all his hearers were satisfied of his intention to give what he really thought the truth, fairly and fully, in relation to the state and prospects of the colony. The testimony of an eye witness, in such a case,—of a witness who has shown the depth of his interest, by corresponding action and sacrifice,—of a witness of unimpeached character as a man, a Christian, and a Christian minister, comes upon the unprejudiced mind with peculiar force. He told us what he had seen, what he had been in favorable circumstances to know, and what for aught we can conceive, he can have no motive for discoloring or misrepresenting. To be sure, he denied the truth of some late statements which have been circulated, on the authority of letters from a white resident in Liberia; but when the circumstances attending the testimony on both sides are known, and taken into the account, we think few will doubt where it is safest to rest our belief.

Dr. S. mentioned the fact which seems not to engage the notice of many philanthropists, in this country, who are eager to hasten the ex-

tinction of slavery, that 50,000,000 of the inhabitants of Africa, are held in a degrading bondage. These slaves, Dr. S. said, are as distinct from the rest of the population, as the slaves in our country are from the whites; and they are marked in such a manner as to be distinguished as slaves, all over that extensive region. Each of these, we suppose, may as properly rise up and ask, "*Am I not a brother?*" as if he wore his chains on this side the Atlantic,—and may as properly demand a share of our sympathies. An enterprise that seeks their elevation to the dignity of human nature, and the enjoyments of Christian and civilized life, one would think must excite interest in the mind of every friend of that unfortunate race; and an institution that lays claim to have done something to promote these objects already, and to have strong hope and encouraging prospect of doing far more as time advances, one would think, would meet from the friend of the colored man, any other treatment than opposition, and arouse in his heart any feeling than ill will.

Dr. S. alluded to the protection given by the American flag to the slave trade,—and to that nefarious traffic, which, he said, gathered new horrors every time he looked at it. At least one half of the risk of capture is removed from the slave dealer, by means of the flag of our country.

In reference to a late statement that the result of Colonization in Africa would be the extermination of the natives,—as it was of the Indians in this country, Dr. S. denied its correctness. The natives in the territory purchased, are allowed all the rights of the Colonists, if they will draw and cultivate land. There is no barrier from color, and difference of race, as there was between the first white settlers of America, and the aborigines.

The number of emigrants to Liberia, Dr. S. estimated at 4,000,—of which three-fourths were emancipated for the express purpose of removal to Africa. Of the Colonists, a large portion are professors of religion. In the settlement of New Georgia, which is composed of native Africans that had been in America but four months, out of 375 there are 167 members of the church. Dr. S. said that in his residence of fourteen months in Liberia, he had seen and heard of only two intemperate persons,—and had heard only one profane oath.

In regard to the charges of bitter prejudice against the white man, among the Colonists, he said that the whites are treated with respect in Liberia, when they treat the inhabitants with respect.

Dr. S. allowed that there are cases of poverty and suffering in Liberia, as well as in our own, and every other country,—but so easy is it to obtain a subsistence, that none but the idle need suffer from want,—and that these suffer, he was heartily glad. Were it otherwise, the example would be of pernicious tendency. He would vote to have idlers suffer, that others might be deterred from walking in their steps.

We cannot but think that these statements will tend to remove prejudices against the enterprise of the Colonization Society, which, whatever may be said of its bearings on our country, seems certainly fraught with the richest blessing to Africa—and in this point of view alone, if no other, should unite in its favor the prayers, the contributions, and the untiring efforts of every philanthropist and Christian.—*Cor. Obs., Hartford.*

[From the *New Orleans Observer*, July 28.]

MR. EDITOR: Aware that you would be gratified to communicate to your readers any intelligence in relation to the prospects and hopes of the missionary cause, as well as that of colonization, I take the liberty to state to you a few facts not generally known, at least in this part of the South. At one of the highly respectable literary institutions of the Atlantic States, two intelligent and industrious colored young men are now pursuing their studies with a view to become missionaries to Africa. They are, if I am rightly informed, yet nominally slaves, and belong to a wealthy planter in one of the Southern States, by whom they were instructed in their primary education, and by whom they are both regarded as being hopefully pious, and possessed of respectable capacity. Not only does he thus give up his claims upon their services, but is paying the expenses of their education, in the hope that they may hereafter become the instructors in knowledge and religion of the natives of their father land.

It was my privilege not long since to read several of the letters received from them by their master. Some of these, which were written immediately upon their arrival, showed, that while yet at the South they had yet learned to write with facility, and with good sense. All the letters indicate as strong an attachment for their master, and his family, as we expect to find in youth of similar ages among the refined and intelligent of the whites. In all their letters they feelingly ask the prayers of their friends, especially when they go up to the "sanctuary;" by which I learnt upon inquiry they meant a place of worship upon the plantation where there is a Sabbath school, and regular religious instruction every Lord's day. Such a spirit of piety, gratitude and anxiety, to improve in knowledge, breathes through the whole of their letters, as must be pleasing to every one who appreciates religious excellence.

A letter from the gentleman who superintends their education, was also shown me. His inquiries in relation to their religious state and the prospects of their becoming useful to the cause of righteousness, resulted in a conviction highly favorable to them, and a pleasing trust that the labor and care bestowed would be well applied. When, however, he asked if they were perfectly contented, one of them hung down his head, and the other wept. He asked why they felt sad; they answered together, "we shall never see our dear master again." When the gentleman informed them that his sons were sent away from home to college, and when they went they wept, and that they would be permitted to visit their master again, they were comforted, and cheerfully resumed their studies, which at that time were the higher departments of geography and arithmetic.

Perhaps you will inquire, what does the master intend to do with these young men? I have already said his purpose is, so far as human instrumentality can go, to prepare them to go as missionaries to Africa. Whether he has rightly judged of their piety, or other parts of their character, cannot now be known. But that his intentions are benevolent towards them and the benighted nations of Ethiopia, no judicious man can doubt—and for the entire success of his enterprize every friend of missions will fervently pray.

Of the further views and habits of the kind owner of these young men, I have no definite knowledge, yet from some occasional remarks of those who are familiar with him, and his domestic arrangements, I am persuaded that the rest of his servants also receive much moral and religious instruction from the personal attention of their master, and others fully competent to the office. His is the silent labor of love that proclaims not its own glory, but which in due time will appear to have been guided by wisdom and benevolence.

Yours, in bonds, &c.,

A COLONIZATIONIST.

Will abolitionists condemn this course of the owner of the two lads, and endeavor to seduce the young men to leave their studies and defeat the objects of their master? We think they would do so did they know all the facts and names. Perhaps this is the reason why they are now withheld. The facts stated above, we are informed from unquestionable evidence, are true.—ED. OBS.

VOICE FROM ALABAMA.

Our August number contained an interesting communication under the above caption, from a correspondent of the Mobile Chronicle, in which the writer refers to some essays, signed "CANDOR," which had appeared in that paper. The subject of the essays, is Colonization, and it appears from the Chronicle of October 9th that that author has already published eleven numbers. We have not been fortunate enough to see any of them except the eleventh. Some portions of it are so opposite to the existing state of things, and to questions soon to be decided, that we shall copy them. The reader may infer from the opinions of the intelligent writer, what would probably be the fortunes of the colonization cause at the South, should the principle of a general central Society be abandoned, and the cause left to rely on disunited efforts, or what is sometimes called "Independent State action."

"The want of leisure (says CANDOR) and sufficient materials will prevent my giving a connected view of the progress of the colonies of Liberia after the settlement of Monrovia; but that they have continued gradually to increase in wealth, strength, and prosperity, I have ample evidence. I shall, therefore, collect such facts and incidents as may seem of interest, and tend to convey useful information in regard to them, and to colonization in general. This course, however far it may fall short of what I could desire, will perhaps assist some little in drawing public attention to this important subject, and ere long enable us to form a society in its aid. And let me assure you that if it have friends among us, no time should be lost in coming to the rescue; at least if it be thought advisable to act auxiliary to the Parent Society.—The early resources of that Society, are now to so great an extent diverted to other channels, that its ability to perform its legitimate functions is almost nominal. Thus, last year, so reduced was the state of its resources, that it was compelled to transfer a company of emigrants destined for its own colonies, to the Pennsylvania Colonization Society,

to be sent to their settlement at Bassa Cove; it is true that it had just then despatched an expedition which had contributed mainly to reduce its treasury so low; but it had hitherto possessed sufficient means to despatch two or three expeditions annually; and is it not imperative on its friends to supply the necessary funds to prolong its usefulness, at least to the extent that had previously been felt? Not that an equal number of free blacks sent off by the Pennsylvania Society is not as beneficial to the country as the same number sent off by the Parent Society,—but that the Parent Society is general in its operations, and calculated to concentrate in itself the isolated aid of thousands of individuals in the different States, where no State Societies exist, and from the aggregate of these, effect much that would otherwise be unavailable for the want of consolidation."

"The last annual report of the Board of Managers, represents their treasury as being in the condition above stated; and they appeal to the friends of Colonization throughout the United States, to determine whether the Society shall cease, and the scheme of State Colonization alone be encouraged; or whether they will, by supplying the necessary funds, enable it to go on and accomplish, in concert with the State Societies, the great object for which they are mutually striving. It should be borne in mind that only one State (Maryland) has adopted the course of entire independence of the Parent Society; and although the State Societies of Mississippi and Louisiana, New York and Pennsylvania, receive and apply their own funds, to the support and increase of their own colonies, they are, nevertheless, willing to contribute a per centum of their receipts in aid of the Parent Society. No other states have yet attempted independent action; but from the jealousy of the tendency of the South at the South, and the rise of abolitionism at the North, the contributions are too limited to enable it to act efficiently.

There are other strong reasons in addition to those already given, why this appeal should be met in the spirit in which it is made. The Society has six colonies, or distinct settlements, at considerable distances from each other, planted by itself, and under its immediate jurisdiction, which require supervision and protection for some years to come. These, none of the separate State Societies would be disposed to take under their protection, having already as much on their hands in the management of their own colonies, as their resources will enable them to meet. Nor would the general government extend its patronage to all, on account of the connexion it has with one of them.

And further independent State action, extended to the establishment of separate colonies would prevent the formation of a national character (if I may so express myself,) by the Liberians. It would destroy their unity and individuality as a people, and render them a more easy prey to the semi-civilized and more powerful nations of the interior, should they ever deem it politic to attempt the extermination of the colonies.—It is said not to be uncommon for these warlike tribes to extend their predatory excursions, more than a thousand miles from their own territories, and a less extended radius than that, would reach several of the most powerful nations of Africa. The Ashantees on the southeast, whose power the English at Cape Coast have felt more than once, are but a few hundred miles distant; and, not to be prolix, the Timbuctoos.

whose capital is the mysterious city of that name, the centre of interior African commerce, are not more than ten or twelve hundred miles distant. But without anticipating danger from a distance, might not distinct interests among the colonies, ultimately engender rivalry, and perhaps dissensions, fatal to their influence over the surrounding natives? And might not the necessity of mutual protection, yield to the desire of individual colonial aggrandizement; and mutual jealousy arise, that would view with complacency the destruction of a rival colony? These considerations are of momentous interest in determining a question of such magnitude, and may well incline us to the opinion, that united under a common head, the colonies dispersed as they are along more than 300 miles of coast, would be more powerful, and more likely to repel successfully, any combination of native warfare that might take place, after they had taught their enemies the art of war.

The union of our own States furnishes an apt illustration of the advantages of union in Liberia; and profiting by the idea, the Parent Society has proposed to the independent State Societies, a corresponding colonial union in Liberia, to be based on similar principles, and varied in some of its details, so as to render it applicable to the situation and circumstances of the colonies. This plan of federal government has been submitted to the consideration of the Societies of New York, Pennsylvania and Maryland. The two former have given it their sanction, but the latter dissents; the reasons given, I have never seen, but it is difficult to imagine any so cogent as those that exist in favor of its adoption; and it remains for the friends of Colonization to decide on its expediency.

SOUTH AFRICA.

POWER OF DIVINE GRACE ON SOME BOJESMENS.—I recollect of going to see a Hottentot church, consisting of 400 members; and at that time there were 70 candidates for admission, and seyen of these were Bosjesmans. Their hair was in ringlets, clotted; they had on filthy sheepskin karosses; they had not, perhaps, in their lives been washed; they had just been awakened by the labors of a Bojesman, and they were now relating their Christian experience. So deeply were they affected that they could only proceed for a few moments, when we were obliged to pass by one, and listen to another. I never heard more correct views of the gospel—of the evil of sin—of the depravity of the human heart—of the necessity of salvation through Christ—and of the beauty of holiness, than I heard from the lips of these poor creatures.

When I contrasted their speech with their appearance, I could scarcely believe my own ears; it seems as if these persons had been like a certain insect with which you are acquainted, which in the spring bursts its chrysalis, and from being a caterpillar, comes forth with its beautiful wings to the sun. These men talked like experienced Christians, when at the same time, they exhibited this extraordinary appearance; from being savages,—from being the lowest grade of savages—from being in a situation where they never heard the gospel—these very men, by the

labors of a Bojesman who had received the Society's Bible, and read to them that Bible, were brought to a knowledge of the truth, and awakened to a sense of their condition.—*Rev. Dr. Philip, at British and For. Soc. An.*

FROM SOUTH AFRICA.—We have files of the Graham's Town Journal to the 17th of June, inclusive. We find very ample details respecting the massacre of the settlers by the Zoolas, in the neighborhood of Port Natal, and of the subsequent hostilities between the Zoola chief Dingaan, and the force despatched against him by the countrymen of his victims.

From these accounts it appears that on the 6th of April, a force of nearly four hundred mounted men set out for Dingann's territory, and arrived near Unkunginglove, the capital, on the 11th, where they found the Zoola army drawn up in three divisions, and advantageously posted. The attack was made by the settlers, in two divisions, one of which was quickly routed and put to flight, leaving the other to sustain the brunt of the battle. The fight was kept up with great bravery for an hour and a half, the settlers being completely hemmed in by the Zoolas; but at length they were compelled to cut their way out and fly, leaving their commander, Piet Uys, his son, aged only twelve years, and about twenty others dead upon the field.

On the same day, and very soon after this affair, a body of about 800 men from Port Natal, that had marched to co-operate with the farmers, arrived at the field of battle, and were immediately attacked by the whole of Dingann's army, stated to have been 12,000 strong. After fighting about an hour the Natal men were overwhelmed by the force of numbers and of the 800 only 230 escaped, many of them severely wounded. The loss of the Zoolas was supposed to be from 1000 to 1200.

After this victory the Zoolas marched to Port Natal and ravaged it, remaining about a week, and carrying off much plunder. A letter from Rev. F. Owen, missionary, dated May 5, states that the Zoolas also plundered the station, carrying off every thing but books, and murdering women and children. It would seem, however, that none of the missionaries or their families were killed, as Mr. Owen says that he had engaged a vessel to remove his whole circle to Delagoa Bay. He says that all the fighting men among the Europeans were killed.

The farmers were not discouraged by these disasters, but were mustering their forces for another attack on Dingaan, and were confident of ultimate success.

The number of Europeans killed was 13. The remaining inhabitants of Natal took refuge on board the vessels in the port.

The Natal forces consisted of natives, with the exception of the 13 Europeans who were killed, and one who escaped. The farmers spoken of in the accounts are Dutch boors.

It appears that after Dingaan had massacred the boors or farmers whom he had treacherously invited to visit him at his capital, he sent a large force to attack their camp, by whom all the emigrants were slain, men women, and children, to the number of about 250.

A letter from Port Natal, dated March 20, mentions the departure of all the American missionaries with their families.

In the Journal of April 26, we find an account of the execution of the two ringleaders in the mutiny of the Cape Mounted Riflemen—both Hottentots—with their confessions. From these it appears that they were excited to the mutiny by some of the Kafir chiefs, who promised to aid them and make war upon the English.—*N. Y. Com. Advertiser.*

[*From the Journal of Commerce, October 10.*]

JUDGE WILKESON'S PLAN.

The plan proposed of immediately purchasing a suitable vessel to be sold to such free persons of color, as will agree to man her with colored seamen and navigate her as a regular packet between this country and Liberia, on condition that payment be made for her by conveying emigrants from time to time from the United States to the colonies or settlements in that country, appears to the undersigned admirably adapted to promote the cause of African Colonization, and the enterprise, the commerce, and the elevation of the colored race. The funds that may be given for this object, will prove a double charity, first, to those who may purchase the ship, and next, to the Society, or Societies that may be engaged in the colonization of Africa. The plan will place in the hands of colored persons the means of improving their African settlements, of building up their fortunes, and of commanding respect; and it will relieve the Society or Societies from the heavy expense of removing a large body of emigrants. It will secure regular and frequent intercourse between this country and Africa, develope the resources of that land to our colored population, incline them to engage in commercial operations and in other laudable pursuits that may tend to increase the advantages of such commerce. In fine, it must, in our judgment, render far more efficient than heretofore the enterprise of Colonization, and open new and hitherto untried avenues to usefulness and prosperity to the minds of men of color, both in this country and Liberia. We cordially and earnestly recommend this plan to the aid of our generous fellow-citizens.

BENJAMIN T. ONDERDONK, Bishop of the Diocese of New York,

L. S. IVES, Bishop of North Carolina,

JACKSON KEMPER, Missionary Bishop for Missouri and Indiana.

GARDINER SPRING,
WM. A. DUER,
ALEX. PROUDFIT,
JAMES MILNOR,
J. C. SPENCER,
G. P. DISOSWAY,
EWD. G. HIGBEE,
GILBERT S. SMITH,
THOS. LYELL,
GERARD HALLOCK,
ERSKINE MASON,
JOHN KNOX,
ANSON G. PHELPS,
J. D. BEERS,

J. BOORMAN,
N. BANGS,
FRANCIS L. HAWKS,
MANTON EASTBURN,
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J. M. WAINWRIGHT,
ISAAC PECK,
R. R. GURLEY,
T. MACAULEY,
THOMAS DE WITT,
RUFUS PRIME,
BENJ. HALE.

Joseph Gales, Washington City; Judge Samuel Wilkeson, N. York; George Homan, Boston, will receive donations to the above object.

ANOTHER TESTIMONIAL.

The Presbytery of Richland, in session at Mansfield, (Ohio,) Sept. 12, 1838.

The committee on the subject of Colonization, made their report, which was accepted, adopted, and is as follows:

"The Rev. William Wallace an agent of the Am. Col. Society, having presented the subject and claims of African Colonization before Presbytery the Presbytery feeling the importance of this subject, do most cordially approve the plan, and design of colonizing the free colored people of this country, on the continent of Africa, and do recommend to the churches under our care to aid this cause, according to its importance and their ability. And for a more efficient union of effort, your committee beg leave to submit the following resolutions.

1. *Resolved*, That we will give our attendance and support with other Church judicatories and friends of African Colonization in general within the limits of our Presbyterial range at such time and place as may hereafter be specified, for the purpose of organizing a Society auxiliary to the State or United States Colonization Society.

2. That Messrs. Scott, Rowland, and Culbertson, be a committee to correspond with other judicatories and influential citizens and appoint the time, and call a meeting for the organization of a society."

A true extract from the minutes of Presbytery, JAMES ROWLAND, S. C.

CONTRIBUTIONS

To the American Col. Society from Aug. 20, to Sept. 20, 1838.

Gerrit Smith's Plan of Subscription.

Gen. John H. Cocke, Virginia, his 9th instalment,	-	-	-	\$100
<i>Collections in Churches, &c.</i>				
Bristol, Con. by Dr. E. Skinner,	-	-	-	25
Cazenovia, N. York, Presbyterian Church, after an address by a Methodist Episcopal Missionary recently from Liberia,	-	-	-	18 54
Chambersburg, Pa., Presbyterian Cong. Rev. D. Denny,	-	-	-	15
Darry, Dauphin Co., Pa., Rev. James R. Sharon,	-	-	-	12 10
Hanover, Pa., Congregation, Rev. J. Snodgrass,	-	-	-	3 50
Louisville, Ky., Christ Church, Rev. W. Jackson,	-	-	-	50
Northumberland, Pa., Unitarian Church, Rev. James Kay,	-	-	-	9
Paris, Ky., St. Peter's Church, Rev. Amos Cleaver,	-	-	-	8 50
Scott, Cortland Co., N. Y., Baptist Church, Rev. B. Capron,	-	-	-	4
Washington City, Presbyterian do. Rev. Dr. Laurie,	-	-	-	6

Donations.

Newton Centre, Mass., from H. J. Ripley, 1837 and 1838,	-	-	-	20
Washington City, collected by Wm. Cammack,	-	-	-	20
from Lieut. Robt. Lee,	-	-	-	20

Auxiliary Society.

Columbus, Ohio, Ladies Colonization Society,	-	-	-	73 90
<hr/>				

African Repository.

John H. Eaton, Agent, New York,	-	-	-	-	30
Hon. George Mitchell, Conn., for 3 copies,	-	-	-	-	6
E. Easton, Agent, Cincinnati, Ohio,	-	-	-	-	23 5

Liberia Herald.

Mrs. N. H. Swayne and Mrs. J. N. Whiting, Columbus, Ohio,	-	-	-	4
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Resolutions of the Board.

The following Resolutions in regard to a distribution of the African Repository and Colonial Journal, have been adopted by the Board of Managers.

Monday, December 22, 1828.

Resolved, That after the 1st of March next, the African Repository shall be sent to all such Clergymen as have this year taken up collections on or about the 4th of July for the Society, and shall be continued to them as long as they shall continue annually to take up collections.

Resolved, That all the subscribers on the plan of Gerrit Smith, Esq. shall be also entitled to the work.

Resolved, That all Life Members of the Society shall, if they request it, be entitled to the work for the period of three years.

Resolved, That every Annual Subscriber to the Society of ten dollars or more, shall also be entitled to the Repository.

Resolved, That the Repository be sent to the Superintendent of each Sunday-School, which may annually take up a collection for the Society."

NOTICE.

It is requested that all collections, donations, or subscriptions to the American Colonization Society, be transmitted by mail, if no private opportunity offers, to **JOSEPH GALES**, Sen'r, Esq. Treasurer of the Society, Washington City; with whom the collecting Agents of the Society will also correspond. With the collections in the churches, the Society expects to receive the names of the Clergymen of the several congregations in which they were made.

All communications, relating to the general interests of the Society, or the Editorial Department of the Repository, to be directed to **R. R. GURLEY**, Secretary, Washington.

All communications, relating to the pecuniary concerns of the Repository, to be directed to **JAMES C. DUNN**, Washington, D. C.

Agents for the African Repository

Travelling Agents.

Rev. Wm. Matchet.
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Dr. Ezekiel Skinner,
Thos. L. Jones,
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VIRGINIA.

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NORTH CAROLINA.

Dr. Wm. H. Williams of Raleigh.

John C. Ehringhaus, Elizabeth City,

Nathan Winslow, Newby's Bridge.

MISSISSIPPI.

Rev. Wm. Winans, Centreville.

OHIO.

E. Easton, Cincinnati.

LIBERIA—Africa.

James Brown, Monrovia.

The African Repository

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Plan of Gerrit Smith, Esq.

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